A Postcolonial Reading to My Father's Rifle: Childhood in Kurdistan

Soran Mustafa Kurdi
Tishk International University
Soran.mustafa@tiu.edu.iq

DOI: 10.23918/vesal2023v42

ABSTRACT
The struggle for Kurdish identity extents from the Ottoman empire to modern nation-states. The creation of nation-states catalyzed the transition from "feudal nationalism" to *Kurdayeti*. Hiner Saleem's autobiography, *My Father's Rifle: A Childhood in Kurdistan,* provides a firsthand perspective on the experiences of the marginalized Kurds in the Iraqi Kurdistan. It offers insights into their social, cultural, and political contexts and power dynamics. While Saleem's work reflects the voice of an understated people, it also requires a postcolonial reading to fully appreciate its content and structure. This study delves into Saleem's autobiography through a postcolonial lens of literary criticism. The narrative as a piece of literature attempts to recount the challenges the Kurdish minority faced in preserving its ethnic and national identity.

Key Words: Kurds, Kurdish national identity, postcolonial literature, autobiography, ethnic studies.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to Brown et al. (2001), one of the underlying causes of internal conflict is the ethnic geography of a state. They argue that countries with diverse ethnic geographies experience various internal problems. In a country where a dominant ethnic group forces its nationalist thought, ethnic conflict is more likely to exist. As a result, the minority groups will experience inequalities in living standards. They will mostly be prevented from practicing their customs, using their language, and living peacefully on their land. This triggers ethnic tensions and increases the potential for conflict between the minorities and the dominant ethnic group (Loomba, 2005).

The Iraqi Kurds, who make up a large minority group in Iraq, have a long history of suffering and maltreatment at the hands of the successive Iraqi governments, such as forced relocations and arbitrary detention. Another example of persecution occurred during the Anfal campaign of the 1980s that aimed to "Arabize" the region. The campaign resulted in the deaths of thousands of Kurds and ruining many Kurdish villages (Middle East Watch, 1993).

In addition, the Iraqi government also implemented a number of policies to erase Kurdish culture and identity. For example, banning Kurdish language in schools and public institutions, and denying the Kurds from accessing to education and other resources (McDowall, 2004; Yildiz, 2007).

Focusing on Hiner Saleem's (2006) autobiography, *My Father's Rifle: A Childhood in Kurdistan*, the study shows the discriminations that the Kurds experienced under the rule of the Iraqi government, as well as their struggle to preserve their ethnic identity, during the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century.

One of the theoretical subjects that appeared in autobiography in the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century was postcolonial or ethnic studies that analyzed the discourse of identity and cultural practices on minorities. Nelson Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom (1994),* is an example of that. Postcolonial or ethnic studies analyze the impact of

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6

colonialism and the experiences of ethnic minorities, respectively. Both fields focus on the issues of power, identity, and cultural representation.

Autobiographies is a valuable source for scholars working in these fields. Within the personal narrative, they provide firsthand perspectives on the experiences of marginalized people. They offer insights into the social, cultural, and political contexts, as well as the power dynamics. Written at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Saleem's autobiography is an attempt in the field to show the struggle of the Kurdish people to preserve their identity. While Saleem chronicles his life events and examine a time in his coming-of-age narrative, he tells the history of the particular period in the life of the Kurds.

My father's Rifle: A Childhood in Kurdistan tells the story of Saleem's childhood growing up in the Kurdish Region of Iraq during the 1970s and 1980s. Through his personal narrative, Saleem recounts the struggles that his community faced during the toppled Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. He also touches on the importance of preserving the Kurdish identity in the period.

On the narrative, Lowder (2010) argues that the strength of Saleem's autobiography lies in its distinct contrast between the naivety of youth and the brutal and disturbing displays of government discrimination and oppression (pp.1). The discriminatory policies that the Iraqi regime implemented contributed to a climate of fear and repression that the felt in Saleem's autobiography.

2. THE EMPIRE WRITES BACK

The notion of post-colonialism (sometimes referred to as postcolonialism) addresses the impacts of European colonization on other cultures and societies. This term was initially employed by historians following World War II, such as in the context of the postcolonial states (Golden, 2015). Quayson (2020) indicates that the term is occasionally presented with a hyphen or left without one, both forms indicating the same realms of interest but adopted by different critics. The hyphenated variation (post-colonialism) originated with political scientists and economists to indicate the era post-colonialism, but around the late 1970s, literary critics and similar experts expanded it into a more comprehensive analysis of culture. On the other hand, the unhyphenated version (postcolonialism) is typically employed to differentiate it from its earlier form that referred solely to a specific timeframe. It signifies a inclination for literary critique and the examination of diverse discourses involving aspects like race, gender, diaspora, and more.

Postcolonialism, as a cultural analysis tool to discuss the various cultural effects of colonization, came to appear from the late 1970s. A widely recognized scholar within the postcolonial field is Edward Said (2022). Said (1935-2003) is an American-Palestinian professor in the fields of English, Comparative Literature, and a notable political activist. Quayson (2020) writes, "Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is considered as pivotal in the shaping of postcolonial studies." Quayson further says, "In *Orientalism*, Said argued for seeing a direct correlation between the knowledges that oriental scholars produced and how these were redeployed in the constitution of colonial rule."

Sawant (2012) argues that *Orientalism* (1978) led to the development of what came to be called "Colonialist Discourse Theory". The theory refers to an analytical framework used to study and dissect the language, narratives, ideologies, and power dynamics present in colonialist literature and texts. A book that examines how literature from former colonies engages with and responds to colonialism and colonial discourse is *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (1989) by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. In a review of the book, Fox (2014) write, "The book is a significant script in the reappropriation of the discourses, the re-turn to the presumptive center of the colonial

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6

'repressed'" (p. 113). The book delves into the ways in which literature from former colonies challenges, transforms, and subverts the narratives established by colonial powers. It explores the notion that postcolonial literatures provide a platform for previously marginalized voices to express their cultural identities and contest dominant colonial ideologies.

This study applies a postcolonial reading on Saleem's autobiography, where characteristics that serve as a postcolonial literature are pointed out. I believe Saleem's work represents a previously marginalized voice, the Kurds, articulating cultural identities and challenging prevailing colonial or internal-colonial ideologies.

3. THE EMERGENCE OF THE KURDISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

The concept of national identity involves feeling a connection to and being a part of a specific nation. Smith (2010) lists several meanings for the term "nationalism" (pp. 5-6). However, Smith prefers those definitions that assume some measures of national feelings such as language, political movement, and an ideology. To him, these feelings play an important role in shaping an individual's beliefs, values, and behaviors.

Taylor and Spencer (2004) argue, "Identity is a work in progress, a negotiated space between ourselves and others; constantly being re-appraised and very much linked to the circulation of cultural meanings in a society" (pp. 4). So, identity is a constantly evolving and changing part of a person or group. Not only that, Taylor and Spencer also believe that identity is political. In that, identity is constantly being constructed and reconstructed and each construction echoes and reinforces power relations.

National identity often is used to justify the marginalization of certain groups within a state. This happens when a dominant national identity that emphasizes certain cultural or ethnic traits exclude or discriminate against those who do not fit the definition of what it means to be a member of the nation.

The Kurds have been dispersed across Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Even though they have some distinct markers of national identity, like ~~as~~ language, cultural traditions, and a shared homeland, the Kurds have suffered marginalization. The governing authorities of these countries have tried to deny the Kurdish rights and assimilate them into the dominant culture (Sherwani & Muhammed, 2020).

Edward, in his book *Orientalism* (1978), developed a concept called the "Other." According to Said, the West created an unfavorable and stereotypical portrayal of the East, which he labels as the "Orient." The image of the Orient as the "Other" has been used to justify the colonization and exploitation of Eastern societies and cultures. Said's concept has had a significant influence on the fields of postcolonial studies. Fitting Said's concept in the context of Iraq, the Saddam's regime was the dominant group and it always portrayed the Kurds as fundamentally different and inferior in Iraq. The image of the Kurds as the "Other" was used by the regime to justify marginalizing them. The marginalization took many forms, including economic, social, and political exclusion, as well as cultural and linguistic repression. It had serious consequences for the Kurds, including reduced access to education, employment, and other opportunities (Middle East Watch, 1993). In addition to that, Saddam Hussein took other radical measure against the Kurds, such as the "Arabization" campaign, aiming to forcibly erase the Kurdish language and culture. The campaign included measures such as the forced relocation of Kurds from their homes to other parts of Iraq, and ruining the villages (Middle East Watch, 1993).

The then Iraqi government took this measure to assimilate the Kurdish identity despite the fact that the Kurds had always considered themselves a distinct group, even before the existence of the nation-states in the region. Natali (2007) highlights, "Even though the Ottoman and Persian authorities distinguished minority populations according to religious affiliation:

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6

Muslim and non-Muslims, the Kurds have historically seen themselves as a distinct ethnic, tribal, or national group within the empires" (pp. xvii). That sense of distinctiveness is called "feudal nationalism" by the Kurdish linguist Amir Hassanpour. Hassanpour, as cited by Bengio (2012), states that the Kurdish feudal nationalism was developed during the seventeenth century, which was a time when the Kurds were sandwiched between the wars waged between the Ottoman and Persian empires (pp. 4). The Kurdish identity was yet to be fully crystalized during this period.

It was only after the Ottoman Empire's defeat in World War I that the call for Kurdish statehood gained prominence as the primary movement among Kurdish intellectuals (Bajalan, 2021). Following the fall of the Ottoman empire, and after signing the Treaty of Lausanne (1922-1923), which resulted in the formation of the nation-states in the region and the division of the Kurdish territories, feudal nationalism changed to *Kurdayeti*. This term is translated as "Kurdish Nationalism." As Natali (2007) puts it, "the transition from an imperial to a state system helped reshape *Kurdayeti* because it created a new type of political space in which Kurdish identity could unfold" (pp. xvii). At the point of building the nation-states, the Kurdish struggle to preserve the ethnic identity began to appear. This is because many of the states that emerged in the Middle East during this time were artificially created and did not correspond to the historic or cultural boundaries of the region. Many of the nation-states developed strong national identities, despite their artificial origins. However, the process also marked by conflict and tension, as various groups, such as Kurds, within these states struggled to assert their rights and identities within the nation-state context.

Colonialism typically refers to the establishment of control and dominance by one country or group over another territory or people, often involving the occupation, administration, and exploitation of the colonized region for the benefit of the colonizer. However, Quayson argues, "Postcolonialism allows for a wide range of applications, designating a constant interplay and slippage between the sense of a historical transition, a socio-cultural location and an epochal configuration." On this sense, when a minority group within a country with a majority rule facing domination and oppression, it is shares same similarities with colonialism. It's sometimes called "geo-focused internal colonialism," which involves the domination and exploitation of one group by another within the same country (Pinderhughes, 2011). This could take the form of ethnic, racial, or religious minorities being subjected to unequal treatment, restricted access to resources, and limited political representation by a dominant majority group.

While these situations share some common themes with traditional colonialism, they occur within the boundaries of a single country and often involve historical, cultural, and social complexities that are distinct from the colonial relationships between different nations.

4. SALEEM'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND THE KURDISH STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE NATIONAL IDENTITY

Prior to the late 19th century, Ottoman rulers were unconcerned about their subject groups' ethno-linguistic identities, such as Kurds, as far as they stayed quiet and paid taxes (Kelin, 2020). In 19th century, the Kurds' relationship with the Ottoman administration and the level of the autonomy enjoyed by Kurdish-populated provinces changed throughout time. Overall, the partnership was mutually beneficial. So, a distinctive national feeling among the ethnic minorities was not as crystalized as it did later (Bajalan, 2021). In his narrative, Saleem recounts that his grandfather was born in Kurdistan, the Iraqi part, as a Kurd. During the Ottomans, Britons, and Turks, he had no issue being called an Ottoman, a British, or a Turk.

However, after the establishment of Iraq, Saleem's father was bothered with having the new Iraqi identity. His grandfather's sense of belonging, before and aftermath the World War

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6

I, marks the transitional period between the Kurdish feudal nationalism and the emergence of the new identity which was *Kurdayeti*. The new Iraqi identity that was thrusted upon his grandfather "remained an enigma to him, and to his dying breath. [H]e was never proud of being Iraqi" (pp. 4).

Abdalrahman (2019) touches on the stage where Kurdish nationalism was being reconstructed after the creation of the nation-state. He states that ethnic struggle among the Kurds began to surface as a national struggle from the 1930s onwards. (pp. 8). However, he highlights that the language and culture of the dominant and powerful group were deemed valuable and significant, while the minority groups were compelled to adopt their new ways of understanding. (pp. 8). The dominant national identity in Iraq excluded and discriminated the Kurds as a minority group.

Hassanpour (as cited in Bengio, 2012) elaborates on *Kurdayeti*, stating that it started to form following the conclusion of first World War. By the sixties of the century, the modern nationalist concepts had evolved into a cohesive ideology (pp. 5). However, according to Vali (2003), Kurdish sense of nationalist ideology was a reaction to the negation of the Kurdish identity (pp. 105). Since the formation of the Iraqi as a nation-state, the Kurds have been in a continual struggle to preserve their identity, emphasizing ethnic distinctiveness. Said (1978) asserts that people obtain their identities through the means of opposing others. He elaborates that a crucial element of national identity is the practice of distinguishing between "us" and "them" (pp. 43). Within the Iraqi state, the Kurds have been treated as "them," with the Arabs in power being "us." As a result of this demarcation, the Kurds suffered discrimination and oppression.

Saleem's autobiography, which covers two decades, the sixties through seventies in the twentieth century, is structured around the continuity of this conflict; the Kurdish emphasis on their national identity despite the denial by the Iraqi government. Lowder (2010) writes, "The Kurds seem to carry on and get themselves through the trials which they suffer by means of rhetorical promises encouraging their own cause" (pp. 2). The advent to power of the Baath regime in July 1968 brought happiness for the Kurds. Saleem, from listening to his father's radio, recalls that the Iraqi regime talked about peace with the Kurds, "The two putsch leaders in Baghdad, Al-Bakr and Saddam, spoke of peace, and planes [to bombard the Kurdish towns and villages] stopped coming" (pp. 21). Bengio (2012) supports this claim, saying the Baath regime, in power, initiated direct negotiations with the Kurds, which were "set between September 1969 and March 1970" (pp. 40). Eventually, Saleem (2006) recalls, "It was Saddam who ended up traveling to the mountains" to negotiate with the Kurds. "Except for the independence of Kurdistan, [Saddam] accepted all the demands. Kurds and Arabs… were going to share everything like brothers!" (pp. 22). The negotiations lead to the 1970 March Declaration agreement. Regarding the agreement, Bengio writes that the agreement's essence indicated a historic victory for the Kurdish nationalist movement. For the first time in the twentieth century, an Iraqi government acknowledged the Kurds' right to territorial autonomy. (pp. 49). The agreement made the Kurds feel extremely happy. Saleem adds, "from then on, everyone had a smile on their lips. We were all carried away by the euphoria of peace" (pp. 22).

Hussain (2020) writes that the appearance of the nation-states in the middle east region, which was founded mostly on ethnicity, deprived Kurds of their rights, including the right to speak their mother tongue in public and to receive an education in their mother tongue. Despite the Iraq-Kurd agreement, the Kurds experienced discrimination by not having their language used in education. On his first day of school, Saleem "couldn't understand a word; the teacher spoke Arabic" (pp. 27). Being over-optimistic, Saleem's father told him, "Don't worry, my son, before the end of the year, the teaching will be in Kurdish; the government promised us" (pp. 27). In addition to that, none of the TV channels broadcast a program in Kurdish. Saleem

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6

recalls that when his father bought a TV set, he was disappointed by not having any program in his language, Kurdish. So, his fathers wondered if the Kurdish voice could ever be transmitted on the TV screen (pp. 36).

In 1974, the dream of having Kurdish territorial autonomy did not come true. As Saleem writes, rumors circulated that Iraq and Iran were on the verge of reaching an agreement, which would come at the Kurds' expense (pp. 49). The rumors turned into reality. The Iraqi government failed to implement the agreement and signed a new agreement with Iran, the 1975 Algiers Agreement, to end the Kurdish national movement. After this agreement, the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan deteriorated; The Iraqi regime launched an aggressive campaign against the Kurds and Kurdish fighters in the mountains. The Kurds were faced with two difficult choices, both with their own set of problems: seek shelter in Iran or surrender to the Iraqi government. The Kurdish leadership opted for the former. As a result, more than 100 thousand Kurdish refugees fled to the neighboring countries such as Iran and Turkey. Saleem's family was one of those who fled to Iran. What the Iraqi government did then was not a one-time knife-in-the-back due to getting a bigger catch from Iran, but it was more of the Iraqi government being a scorpion that could not resist its urge. Lowder (2010) expresses that fact in an obvious way:

> *That fact has stood true since the end of World War I, when France and Great Britain shut Kurdish representatives out of peace settlements and continues to ring true to this very day: the Kurdish people have always lacked, and continue to be denied, their right to an international voice. This is because the international community struggles to see why the Kurdish people should be granted their own homeland. In addition, it seems that the countries in which Kurdish people live would prefer to be rid of them entirely and are in no way interested in granting them any measure of power or freedom. (pp. 95)*

In a single blow, the Kurdish nationalist movement crushed and the dream for territorial autonomy vanishes. With the absence of leadership, there was no central movement to lead the struggle in Iraq. Under the agreement between Iraq and Iran, the Kurdish refugees were to be granted amnesty and were allowed to return to Iraq. After several months, Kurdish families decide to return to Iraq. Upon returning, the returnees on the border are given a new identification stamped with the a'idouns (returnees) mark. Saleem states, "[a'idouns] were denied access to many jobs- at the university, in the government, in any sensitive position" (pp. 61). It is not only the returnees who experience inequalities in standards of living but all the Kurds because "the rule was applied to all Kurds" (pp. 61).

The clash between the two discourses, the Kurdish one and the Iraqi regime representing the Arab one, speak at the heart of Saleem's autobiography. After the movement's collapse, the Iraqi regime's aim for the Kurdish case was that the Kurdish national movement would not resurface again. In its quest to accomplish this, Bengio states, "the Baath regime targeted several interim goals: to destroy Kurdish national identity and assimilate the Kurds into Arab society and prevent Kurdish reorganization" (pp. 154). During the years of the agreement, Iraq continues to prevent the Kurds from holding sensitive governmental positions. In addition, it brings workers from other Arab countries to the region to replace the Kurdish workforce and force the Kurds to assimilate into Arab society. Saleem states, "Hundreds of thousands of workers from all the Arab countries moved into our region. They took the jobs that were vacated by the ousting of a'idouns and many other Kurds" (pp. 61). If a Kurd wanted to apply for a simple position, he had to be interviewed by someone from the regime's intelligence service. Then, it was decided whether he would be given the position, and the person was usually asked to sign up for the Baath Party. Saleem once went to apply for a projectionist position at a small theater in a nearby town. The interviewer asked him whether he belonged to any Kurdish political party, and he replied by saying that he was only a student, and in fear of being forced to sign up, he did not go back there again. Even at school, Saleem

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6

was summoned to the Baath Youth office several times to sign up for the Party Youth and be committed to the party and its beliefs. (pp. 68). At the town libraries, the Kurdish books that did not adhere to the Baathist doctrine had to be sent to Bagdad to be destroyed (pp. 75).

In 1978, the Kurdish movement began reorganizing from its inferiority position. Kurdish men from town started to go to the mountain where the Kurdish fighters were headquartered. Saleem's older brother, Dilovan, and his friend, Jamil were two of those who sneaked out to the mountain to become Kurdish fighters. The movement starts to operate their radio station, The Voice of Kurdistan (pp. 68). Even Saleem and his cousin, Ramo, went to the mountain to join the Kurdish fighters. They stayed there for two weeks and were told that they were students and needed to go back to finish their studies because the Kurdish cause needed more educated persons than fighters. The Kurdish fighters asked, "if you are courageous, return to your town … help us organize acts of sabotage" (pp. 80). Despite the regime's attempts to oppress the Kurdish national movement, the movement again rose and started another phase in its struggle to preserve its identity.

5. CONCLUSION

National identity is an evolving concept that is influenced by numerous social, cultural, and political factors (Eriksen, 2007). The emergence of the Kurdish national identity is an example of the challenges faced by marginalized minorities in asserting their identity within a nation-state framework. Despite having definite characteristics of national identity, the Iraqi Kurds have suffered from marginalization and discrimination by the Iraqi governments. The reason for the Kurdish marginalization is a dominant national identity that imposes specific cultural or ethnic characteristics that differ from them.

The struggle for Kurdish identity has been ongoing from the Ottoman empire to the present-day nation-states. The transition from feudal nationalism to *Kurdayeti* was catalyzed by the creation of the nation-states. However, this process has been marked by conflict and tension. Hiner Saleem's autobiography offers a firsthand perspective on the experiences of marginalized people, the Kurds, and provides insights into the social, cultural, and political contexts and power dynamics of a particular period in the life of the Kurds.

The emergence of postcolonial discourse can be attributed to the contributions of numerous writers, including Aime Cesaire, Frantz Fanon, Ngugi wa Thiango, Edward Said, Ashcroft, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, and Aijaz Ahmad (Sawant, 2012). Sawant writes, "In general, their work explores the ways of representations, and modes of perception that are used as fundamental weapons of colonial power to keep colonized people subservient to colonial rule" (p. 122). While Saleem's work has value in that it has the capacity to reflect the story of a people whose voice is almost entirely absent in the literary research, its content and structure necessitate a postcolonial reading. It can be interpreted as an attempt to communicate the voice of an oppressed minority. Reading the book in this manner means reading not only the Kurdish minority history, but also the struggle of all minorities to preserve ethnic and national identity in the context of de/colonization, state oppression of diverse groups, and forced assimilation.

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6

References

Abdalrahman, K. K. (2019). We Carry These Conflicts, These Ruptures of History:" the Hybridity of the Self in the Conflict between Tradition and Modernity in Laleh Khadivi's the Age of Orphans.

An Introduction to Post-Colonialism, Post-colonial Theory and. (n.d.). Retrieved from University of Washigton.

Arthur, L. (2022). Did Edward Said's Orientalism inaugurate a new kind of study of colonialism? *Kent Law Review, 7*(1). doi:https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/03/klr.1098

Bajalan, D. R. (2021). The Kurdish Movement and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1880-1923. In H. Bozarslan, C. Gunes, & V. Yadirgi, *The Cambridge History of The Kurds* (pp. 104-137). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781108623711.005.

Bengio, O. (2012). *The Kurds of Iraq: Building a State within a State.* Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Brown, E. M., Cote Jr., R. O., Lynn-Jones, M. S., & Miller, E. S. (2001). *Nationalism and ethnic conflict - revised edition (International Security Readers).* MIT Press.

Eriksen, T. H. (2007). Nationalism and the Internet. *Nations and Nationalism, 13*(1), 1-17. Retrieved from https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2007.00273.x

Fox, R. E. (2014). Review of The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures by B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin. *African Studies Review, 34*(3), 113. doi:https://doi.org/10.2307/524126

Golden, A. (2015, 4 19). A Brief History of Postcolonial Literature, Part I. Retrieved from https://blog.bookstellyouwhy.com/a-brief-history-of-postcolonial-literature-part-i

Hussain, S. F. (2020). The Kurdish Novel: Diaspora, Identity and Cultural Diversity. *Academic Journal of the University Alma Mater Studiorum - Rivista Di Studi Indo-Mediterranean (RSIM)* - .

Kelin, J. (2020, 1 7). *The Fate of the Kurds*. Retrieved 1 2023, from Origins: https://origins.osu.edu/article/kurds-stateless-turkey-syria-iraq-iran?language_content_entity=en

Loomba, A. (2005). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism (second edition).* Routledge.

Lowder, D. (2010). My Father's Rifle: An Analysis. *ESSAI, 8*(26), 94–96.

McDowall, D. (2004). *A Modern History of the Kurds.* I.B. Tauris.

Middle East Watch. (1993). Genocide in Iraq: the Anfal campaign against the Kurds. *Middle East Watch*.

Natali, D. (2007). *The Kurds and the state: Evolving National Identity in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran.* Syracuse Univ. Press. .

Pinderhughes, C. (2011). Toward a new theory of internal colonialism. *Socialism and Democracy, 25*(1), 235-256. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/08854300.2011.559702

Quayson, A. (2020, 1 2). *What is postcolonial literature?* Retrieved from The British Academy: https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/blog/what-is-postcolonial-literature/

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism.* Penguin Books.

Saleem, H. (2006). *My Father's Rifle: A Childhood in Kurdistan.* Picador.

Sawant, S. B. (2012). Postcolonial Theory: Meaning and Significance. *Proceedings of National Seminar on Postmodern Literary Theory and Literature*, 120-126. Retrieved from https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/32913880/3_Post-Colonialism-libre.pdf?1392357313=&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3D3_Post_Colonialism.pdf&Expires=1691999288&Signature=VmyLbV~wrDGeVRLLdw~ykAzi9TC0L2vGijpgZqG8iu2EB5t4vJWmNbzvLsCIS7geZ

Sherwani , D., & Muhammed, B. (2020). Kurdish national Identity in a global context. *Technium Education and Humanities, 2*(7), 310-316.

Smith, A. D. (2010). *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History.* Polity.

Taylor, G. S. (2004). *Social identities: Multidisciplinary approaches.* Routledge.

Vali, A. (2003). *"Genealogies of the Kurds: Constructions of Nation and National Identity in Kurdish Historical Writing," in Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism, .* (A. Vali, Ed.)

Yildiz, K. (2007). *The Kurds in Iraq - Second Edition: The Past, Present and Future.* Pluto Press.

ISBN: 979-8-9890269-0-6